

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ISO-00 IO-14 SAM-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01

PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 DRC-01 /126 W

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R 211047Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9637

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY DARESSALAAM

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO

USUN NEW YORK 452

CINCLANT

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L LISBON 2010

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, PO

SUBJ: GENERAL COSTA GOMES' COMMENTS ON PORTUGUESE AFRICA

1. IN MAY 20 CALL ON NUMBER TWO JUNTA MEMBER, GENERAL COSTA GOMES BY AMBASSADOR SWANK, POLAD CINCLANT AND DCM, GENERAL COSTA GOMES EXPRESSED BELIEF THAT POLITICAL SITUATIONS IN ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE AND PORTUGUESE GUINEA WERE LIKELY TO LEAD TO DISTINCTLY DIFFERENT RESULTS.

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IN ANGOLA HE FELT THAT THERE WAS LESS ANTAGONISM

BETWEEN RACES AND BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS. HE ALSO NOTED THAT NO SINGLE INSURGENT GROUP DOMINATES. HE THUS FELT THERE WAS IN ANGOLA A POSSIBILITY THAT THE BLACKS WHEN GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY FOR SELF-DETERMINATION MAY WELL OPT FOR SOME FORM OF CONTINUED RELATIONSHIP WITH PORTUGAL.

2. ABOUT MOZAMBIQUE HE WAS QUITE PESSIMISTIC. SINCE HIS PERIOD OF SERVICE THERE IN THE ARMY SOME FIVE YEARS AGO, HE FELT THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE HAD DETERIORATED RAPIDLY, THE WHITES HAVING BECOME QUITE RACIST UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA. FRELIMO WAS IN EFFECT THE ONLY SIGNIFICANT LIBERATION GROUP. THE PREPONDERANT INFLUENCE IN FRELIMO OF THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS MAKES IT A DIFFICULT ENTITY TO DEAL WITH. WHILE ONE COULD CONCEIVE OF A CONTINUED ASSOCIATION BETWEEN MOZAMBIQUE AND PORTUGAL, HE FELT IT MORE LIKELY THAT THE BLACK MAJORITY THERE WOULD CHOOSE INDEPENDENCE. GIVEN THE BITTER RIVALRIES BETWEEN CERTAIN BLACK ETHNIC GROUPS, HE WAS AFRAID THAT INDEPENDENCE FOR MOZAMBIQUE WOULD MEAN CIVIL WAR. WHILE SUCH A RESULT WOULD BE MOST UNFORTUNATE, HE FELT THAT PORTUGAL HAD TO GIVE THE PEOPLE A COMPLETELY FREE CHOICE AND HE FEARED THAT INDEPENDENCE FOLLOWED BY A CIVIL WAR WAS ALMOST INEVITABLE.

3. AS TO PORTUGUESE GUINEA HE FELT THAT PROSPECTS FOR ENDING THE WAR THERE WERE INDEED FAVORABLE. THE PAIGC IS THE ONLY PARTY OF ANY CONSEQUENCE. THE PROSPECTS FOR A CEASE FIRE WERE GOOD SINCE THE PAIGC AND THE POPE UNDER THEIR CONTROL, AS WELL AS THE PORTUGUESE FORCES, WERE TIRED OF THE WAR AND ANXIOUS TO ARRANGE AN END TO IT. SCOTT

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## Message Attributes

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**Disposition Authority:** GarlanWA  
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**To:** STATE  
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